and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two stout youths.

Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in those parts -- men and women, elders, youth and children-- went altogether naked.

We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youths and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the lozenges and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [77]

The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed transfixed with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night.

## II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cadereri to the village of Necodemos on the plains.

At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cadereri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm-eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs, and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook. The hut was roofed and enclosed with palm fronds; ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty.

609

[352] From the rafters hung ten hammocks, as well as bows, arrows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled [262 574] with the fruit of the muriti palm (Mauricia venifera); he showed the greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to accompany us to Necodemos if his father agreed. We blew our horn to call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I decided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully.

361 In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village of Absenanti.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what localities we were to encounter.

342 621 The village of Absenanti was under construction; it comprised but one large new house, with a thatch-covered roof which consisted of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west.

[352] We found no one inside the house, but the large number of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to call the occupants of the house.

[609] It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mistrustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was very frightened and excited.

302 This youth was about twenty; his face was not yet completely painted. It merely bore the lozenges; that part which consists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric regularity and [79] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youthful complexion and lent his features a certain novel comeliness.

609 When night came they told me that a few men, women and children, who were turning in to the maloca from the surrounding woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home because of our presence.

123 609 In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away, leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Absenanti and to convince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention to harm them.

609 himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which
576 I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

Then I went into one end of the large house which is
591 occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received
574 in Necodemos; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not
562 a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female
342 sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called ekçá.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermacetti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dhê."

513
534 But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn all through the night in their quarters or ekçá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seus cuidados], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest. It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

Furthermore, during the summer months, large numbers of families leave the malocas and build flimsy huts in the heart of the woods, where in their isolation they encounter more abundant game.

It is certain, however, that this tribe is one of the largest and most powerful in the valley of the Amazon. Alcide d'Orbigny hesitated whether to consider it a mere tribe or a nation. It has long been a strongly organized republic. The central malocas, located beyond the active reach of our authorities, enjoy the same boundless freedom as if they formed an independent State.

In face of the impossibility to carry out by myself a strict census, I must rely on the opinion of a citizen who resides in the town of Itaituba and whom I judge to be very competent in this matter. I refer to Lieutenant Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, a wealthy tradesman who was nominated to the post of superintendent of the Tapajoz River Indians by Councillor Sebastião do Rego Barros, President of Pará, in September 1853, and who has exercised this function ever since.

Although this respected citizen has never been to the central villages, he nevertheless entertains close relations with the Mundurucu who live along the banks of the Tapajoz. [101]

Here is the population table furnished by Lt. Joaquim Caetano Corrêa.

| NAME OF THE MALOCAS | POPULATION |
|---|---|
| Dauapone | 1,500 |
| Carucupi | 2,300 |
| Dairi | 2,600 |
| Capipique | 2,000 |
| Necodemos | 2,100 |
| Aikã (Samuuma) | 1,500 |
| Acupari | 800 |
| Areucrê | 700 |
| Arebaduri | 400 |
| Teiu Curupi | 500 |
| Ipsananti | 600 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Cererepçá | 500 |
| Cabroá | 500 |
| Imburariri | 350 |
| Macapá | 360 |
| Ucuberi | 250 |
| Cabetutum | 350 |
| Chacorão | 700 |
| Airi | 300 |
| Bacabal (Mission) | 500 |
| Boburé | 100 |
| Total | 18,910 |

These figures may be somewhat exaggerated, or at least the population of these malocas may have undergone considerable changes. The village of Chacorão, for example, is now abandoned; that of Boburé is nearly extinct. Though it is certain that nowadays the numbers of strictly savage Mundurucu do not reach [102] 18,000 souls, I am convinced that the old population centers of the tribe, formerly established on the banks of the Upper and Lower Tapajoz, in themselves exceeded this figure by far. These last-mentioned groups settled in the old missions, or incorporated themselves little by little into the Christian population in such a way that their descendants today do not even understand the dialect of the tribe.

## XIII

### Maloca of Necodemos -- Plan of Mundurucu malocas.

Necodemos is located on a hill, in the center of a vast plain, not far from the woods.

In the center of the maloca stands the ekçá or warriors' quarters.

The ekçá consists of an elongated house, about one hundred meters long, roofed with thatch, its whole length open towards the

342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
361 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The ekçá is only for sound men, warriors, and
342 their sons over eight years of age.
513 Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases inside the house.

351 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors string their hammocks on clear summer nights. [103]

352 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the ekçá above his hammock -- bows, arrows, warclub, and horn.

352 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
513 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

462 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
248 pare the thread and the netting.

354 Inside the ekçá, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.

342 Around the ekçá stand the houses of the women, which also
361 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

In Necodemos these houses are five in number, quite large, built with greater care [than the ekçá], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal; but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and
352 there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely brooms, looms, baskets, etc. In the center of
354 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour; they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
352 come into the women's house whenever they please; but the women
[564] never set foot in the ekçá. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept, such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

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609 Madeira and the Xingú are not *pariwat* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *bari'pnyc*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Baracereru. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat, the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudecaneruwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenser" [people of Ceara ?], the Carawat, known as "Messerhelden" have a bad reputation. The *judeu'nyc*, the Jews, are hated, as having [731] treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1826, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaicá fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

## Some Notes on General Culture

241 The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [141] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single [231] pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The [222] wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can 261 easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

342 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. [855] On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

[See errata sheet, Category 116, p. 57 - A. - Analyst]

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It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have the Mongolian spot, as have also the Apiacá children.

### Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madiera and Xingú Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individual sibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below the plant totems are marked with an "(m)". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems.

The ancestors of the sib are called *tubê* or *ay*, and are embodied (verkoerpert) in the large *kaduke*-wind-instruments which are looked upon as having life. The *kaduke* are blown at the men's festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *mêsêri*, a drink prepared for the festival out of manicuera is poured into the *kaduke* from above, is caught in a cúia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children.

A member of the Red Arara sib is in no sense prohibited to shoot and to eat an arara. The same holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants.

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the "Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by Karusakaibê,—himself a "Red", since he belonged to the *Karuwaut*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibê is considered as an unheard-of thing.

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become members of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i barip*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related".

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly had *ihge waket*, huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Staemme). The last

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such hut stood until recently upon the Ikuribi, a plain not far from our Cururu mission.

I shall now give the names of the moieties and of the respective sibs under each moiety:

A. Moiety of the Whites, *i rirùtyu'ayu*

1. *Ari* tree (m). 2. Cotton bush (m). 3. *Datye* sparrow hawk. 4. Sloth. 5. Fish otter. 6. *Ikà* sparrow hawk. 7. *Ikapi* wasp. 8. Jaboti [Land tortoise]. 9. Japim [?]. 10. Toad. 11. Macaco de cheiro [Chrysothrix ?]. 12. Macaco prego [Cebus flatuellus]. 13. Piaba [a fish]. 14. Seringueira-Itauba (m) [rubber tree]. 15. Spider. 16. Swamp deer (Sumpfhirsch). 17. Taperiba-neiro (m) [genus Spondias ?]. 18. Wild cat (Wildkatze). 19. *Tatu* tree (m).

B. Moiety of the Reds, *i patpika'ayu*

20. Coróca [a bird ?]. 21. Cutia [aguti, Dasyprocta]. 22. Jacu [guan, Penelope]. 23. Japu [Cassicus, Ostinops or Xanthornus]. 24. *Kabahobm* bird. 25. *Kapak* (Red Juriti ? *Wary-maryu pakpak-riwu*?]. 26. Mãe da lua [a nocturnal bird]. 27. Mutum [curassow, Crax]. 28. Roe-deer (Reh). 29. Red Arara [red macaw]. 30. Saúba [an ant, Oecodoma cephalotes]. 31. Black Arara [black macaw]. 32. *Uyui* wasp. 33. *Wary* tree (m). 34. Cricket (Zirpe).[2]

### Traditional Origin of the Sib System

The sibs are supposed originally to have been independent tribes. "Os ríncot foram primeiro nações," was told me without my inquiring into this fact. The tribes had been at war with one another. Then came Karusakaibé and united them into one large nation, the Mundurucú confederacy. This great Indian event is supposed to have taken place where the Tapajós Mundurucú now live.

"Who told you this?" I asked my informant, a man who was in his best years. "An old man of the plain told me that," was the answer. In order to be more certain, I had the story repeated later in Mundurucú. This is the translation:

[2] The identifications, given in angular brackets in these two paragraphs, have been added by the editor,—in some cases tentatively only,—from more readily available sources in ZE, JSAP, etc.—Ed.

[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A — Ed.]

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Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing. Steinen's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

**Food preparation.**—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a halbrace of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Steinen's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water. The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

### VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the perimeter of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

The dwelling house (ekça, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Steinen describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1830's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

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Within the house each family has its own partitioned quarters and a fireplace or stone manioc oven (Tocantins, 1877). How many families usually occupy a single house has not been reported. 342

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

The only item of *Mundurucú* clothing mentioned in the literature is the three-cornered penis cover suspended from a cotton cord, but there are several descriptions of the ceremonial feather garments for which this tribe is famous. Many authors consider the *Mundurucú* to have been the most expert featherworkers in South America within the historic period. 291

**Featherwork.**—Featherwork includes aprons, capes (attached to headdresses), caps, diadems, belts, girdles, bandoliers, arm bands, and leg bands. The feathers used in this craft were at least in part obtained from birds kept in captivity; red, blue, green, and yellow feathers were carefully sorted by color and size and stored in baskets or in palm-stem cylinders. Martius was told that the *Mundurucú* were able to cause their parrots to grow yellow plumes by plucking their feathers and rubbing frogs' blood into the wounds.[9] The feathers are attached to a net fabric. Tail feathers, arranged in parallel rows, are used in capes and pendants; rosettes of small feathers, bound at the quills, are attached to the base net to cover the attachments of long feathers; imbricated breast feathers may be used to cover the surface of a fabric or to sheathe a cord. Decorative effects are produced by simple alternation of colors. 287 [825]

A characteristic feathered staff is described as a stem of cane or wood about 3 feet (1 m.) long and 2 or 3 inches in diameter. The shaft is either covered with long feathers laid flat against it or sheathed with fine breast feathers. At the upper end a dense band of rosettes forms a projecting collar; a free cluster of long plumes may project from the head of the staff. The feathers are attached with wax and cotton thread. These objects are highly valued and when not in use are carefully stored in cylindrical containers. Their significance has not been reported; Martius merely says that when he approached a *Mundurucú* village, staff-bearers came to meet him. 295

**Tattooing and painting.**—The *Mundurucú* tattooing designs consist of fine, widely-spaced parallel lines applied vertically on limbs and torso; bands of lozenges across the upper part of the chest; occasional parallel horizontal lines, and cross-hatchings. Around each eye is tattooed a single-line ellipse; curved lines are drawn around the mouth. Lines converging toward the ears across the cheeks give the appearance of wings spread across the face. (For illustrations of *Mundurucú* tattooing, see the sketches by Hercules Florence (Sweinen, 1899).) 304

[9] Tocantins (1877 b, p. 207) says of this custom, which has been reported from other South American tribes, that the color change actually occurs, but naturalists attribute the change to dietary factors.

in any way. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucu was especially deep. The men hunted, fished, and did only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also made baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women did all of the other gardening work, processed manioc, cooked, tended children, wove hammocks, made pottery, and fetched water and firewood. The burden of the more onerous work fell on the women. The men had far more leisure time.

Within the sexes, and on occasion cross-sexually, cooperation was the keynote of the Mundurucu economy. Except for crafts, which were almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts involved people working as a group. This is not to discount the non-cooperative pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trailing, bow and arrow fishing, and the planting of minor crops, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture was done by numbers of men working in coordination.

Housebuilding was also a collective task in which men did the heavy work of construction while women and children aided in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since housebuilding was almost always done only when the villages moved, every household helped the others in the task of construction. All the houses of the new village rose uniformly instead of being completed one at a time.

Among the women the same held true. The women made beiju together, harvested crops together and even went

361 of 250 to 300 for the old Munduruku villages.

The aboriginal Munduruku village consisted of three to five dwelling places and the men's house, or ekxa.* The average population was about 250 people. Commonly, these villages were located on stretches of high savannah. Such a site was easily defensible as its open location protected it from the surprise attacks always used by Amazonian Indians. Also, these locations were relatively free of insects. The [217] Munduruku say too that "it is beautiful here for you can see far."

342 The houses were oblong with rounded ends and had steeply pitched thatched roofs. Some houses were 80 to 100 feet in length. The eaves of the roofs terminated at about five feet from the ground and the house was closed by vertical bark walls. Doors made of the center stalks of palm fronds were used.

344 The men's house was a large lean-to type building, the open end of which always faced east. It was up to 100 feet long and had a roof that gently sloped from the east end, at which point it was about fifteen to twenty feet high, until it met the ground at the west end. The front and both sides were open. Adjoining the south side of the west end [778] of the men's house was the small room in which the sacred trumpets, forbidden to female eyes, were kept. Three horizontal beams, one in the middle and one on either side of the house, ran from east to west at about five feet above

124 * The phonetic system used above and throughout this work is, with a few exceptions, that of English. The exceptions are: x is pronounced like the German ch; i and u are pronounced as in Portuguese faca and usar, respectively.

ate, and slept in the men's house. The men's house, outside of the flute chamber, was not rigidly prohibited to women, but very few entered and only on specific business. The dwelling houses were visited frequently by the men for occasional eating, to see their wives, to play with the children, or for a drink of water. However, the axis of the man's life was the men's house and that of the woman the dwelling. Boys stayed with their mothers until they had finished being tattooed and were old enough to go to war, events that occurred concurrently at about the age of 17. Male solidarity in work and war was basic to Munduruca culture, and the men's house was the primary institution in expressing, effecting, and perpetuating this cohesion. The married men of the village, many of whom were native to other villages, were effectively welded into a unit by the men's house. The young bachelors who might someday leave for the villages of future wives would similarly find a familiar matrix in the warrior group of their new village.

The dwelling house, as has been noted, was the residence of the matrilocal extended family. Each house had one very large hearth and the griddle on which the beiju was made. Cooking was usually done communally. Game was placed on a large babricot and roasted for all the members of the family. If the food was to be boiled, it was put in a large clay pot around which the fire was built. When the men wanted to eat, a man from each extended family went to the house and brought that house's food contribution back

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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The women made the manioc drink on the first, or third, day of the ceremony, and the men then commenced thatching the walls of the trumpet chamber. The men's house, say the Mundurucú, is the home of the kurikí, and the trumpets must be moved into a completely roofed and walled dwelling at the same time that the men move. For this reason it is necessary to complete the walls and roof in one day and to move into the new men's house, with the trumpets, that very night. Since it takes several days to thatch a roof properly, the roof of the old house is customarily dismantled and placed upon the frame of the new one. A new roof would be built during the next rainy season.

[902]

During the busy preparations for the installation of the instruments in their new home, considerable feasting and gaiety took place also. From the arrival of the guests until the completion of the thatching, everybody took part in intermoiety and intersexual joking. Mixtures of urucú or palm fruit and water were prepared and were thrown by the women upon men of the opposite moiety. The latter seized the women's supply occasionally and took revenge.

After thatching the roof of the new men's house and walling the trumpet enclosure, the men assembled in the old men's house. They unstrung their hammocks and assembled all their belongings and then took the trumpets from their old chamber. Three men of the same moiety as the clan to which the trumpets belonged then began playing the instruments and slowly marched toward the new village. The other men crowded about the players, wearing and waving palm leaves, to shield the sacred instruments from the eyes of the women. Within the protecting ring were four other men. One carried a hunting horn with which he occasionally sounded a signal consisting of two long, four short, and two more long blasts; another man followed this signal with the characteristic yell of the hunter who raises game. A third man sounded the ground horn associated with the trumpets of Cabiteuú, and a fourth walked along shaking a rattle. The last man belonged to the opposite moiety of the trumpets and was referred to as their drownsmith.

[903]

His head was covered with a paste made of urucú and ground maize.

The slow procession started from the old men's house at dusk, and night had fallen by the time the group of marchers reached the new village. The women shut themselves in the dwelling houses in anticipation of the men's arrival, and, as the men entered the village, the women began to wail in sorrow for the loss of the instruments that are believed to have once been theirs.* The procession of men circled each house of the village three times and then stopped in front of the new men's house. There the trumpets were played while the rest of the men drank the sweet manioc beverage and rested. The instruments were played outside the men's house until dawn and were then brought inside their new chamber and played until the sun rose. At that time they were retired to the rack suspended from the ceiling, and the guests departed for their own village. The old men's house was later burned to hide all evidence of the activities that once went on in it.

In view of the rapid disintegration of Mundurucú village life, it is doubtful

*See pp. 59-61.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

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a. Bark-walled dwelling house occupied by chieftain and his wife.

[352]

b. Interior of Mundurucú dwelling.

[end plate 3]

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Sleeping section of the men's house. The hammocks of members of the White moiety are hung in the foreground, those of the Red moiety in the background. The fire will contain the entrance to the chamber in which the sacred trumpets are kept.

[end plate 4]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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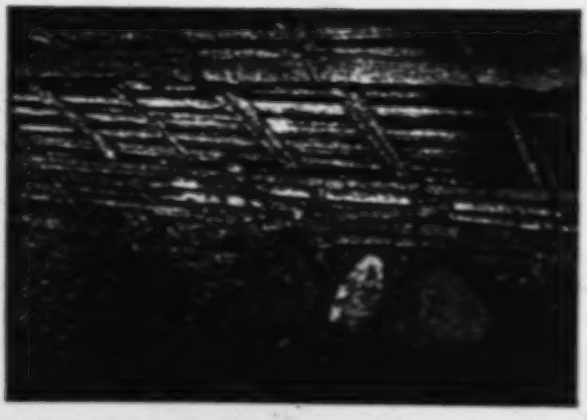

a. Instruments used in the ceremonies of the Game. The cylinders are horns played in these rites, and the earthenware pots are used as containers of the beverage offered to the "spirit mothers" of the game animals. Note the tapir skull between the vessels.

b. Mundurucú man playing one of the sacred trumpets, or *karúkó*. Another of the set of these instruments is leaned against the wall at the right.

[end plate 5]

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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nicipio of the same name which encompasses the upper Tapajós, ascend the stream in a trader's launch to take a prisoner into custody. Medical facilities, either public or private, are almost nonexistent. A dentist from Santarém visits the population annually and pulls teeth for a fee, but medical doctors are unknown south of the rapids. There is a hospital at Fordlandia, the old Ford Motor Company rubber plantation—which is now a Brazilian agricultural experimental station—but the trip is too far and costly for most sick persons. Schools are totally absent. Inhabitants who read and write usually learned to do so in another area or through literate parents. Actually, the Munduruc[u] are in a better position than their Brazilian neighbors, because both the Franciscan mission and the Indian Service post on the Cururú River offer limited medical and educational facilities to them.

One of the most striking features of the life of the Tapajós River inhabitants is their isolation. The typical habitation in this vast riparian region is the isolated wattle and daub hut built either on a platform, as on the lower Amazon, or, more commonly, on a somewhat higher section of a river bank beyond the reach of the annual floods. These isolated huts are scattered along the banks of the major streams and on their affluents. On the larger rivers, often at the mouths of the subsidiary streams, are the *barracões* (stores) of the *patrões* (patrons), the local traders, who buy the produce of the caboclo and sell him needed items and occasional luxuries, such as an alarm clock or a guitar. There are usually three to six houses adjacent to the store and house of the patron, all in the same forest clearing on the river bank. Some of these are the houses of rubber tapper whose rubber avenues are nearby, and others belong to people who live there during the rainy season when no rubber can be collected. Most

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to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

Except for the village of Cauí, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro*, the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

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361 [186] that the only proper place for "people" is in the savannah. Residence beyond this heartland is tantamount to becoming a pariwat, or "outlander."

### THE VILLAGE

342 [361] Each village contains two to five dwelling houses and the men's house, or *eksá*. The former have rectangular ground-plans of about 20 by 40 feet in dimension and are internally uncompartmented. The walls are made of the bark of the *tauarí* tree and extend to approximately two feet from the roof. The intervening space is either left vacant or loosely covered with palm fronds to allow ventilation. The roofs are steeply pitched and made of thatch placed over a pole framework. This architecture represents a departure from the traditional type. Until recent times, houses had roughly elliptical ground plans; structures of 80 to 100 feet in length are said to have been common in the more populous past.

361 345 The houses are arranged in a circle around a central plaza that is now underbrush and weed-infested. The men's house is always located on the west side of the village perimeter, and faces east into the plaza. It is totally unlike the dwellings in design and construction. Made in the form of an open-sided lean-to, it consists only of a roof that rises from the ground on the west side to a height of about 15 feet, and is supported by posts at the middle and both sides at four points along its length. Men's houses of twenty to thirty years ago were said to measure some 100 feet in length, but that of the contemporary village of Cabruá is only 50 feet long and 30 wide.

361 487 Modern Cabruá is typical of the savannah communities, except for certain situational factors of population and immediate environment. It is accessible from the Tapajós River by either the Cabitutú or Tropas rivers; the former

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562 578 571 [184] mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male position, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here, unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

182 534 778 562 The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans but remain functional in protecting the village from supernatural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a solidary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

### THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling 342 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains

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hammocks and the middle is left open. The communal hearth that serves the entire household is in the latter section, and utensils and items of personal property are placed on platforms in the eaves or hung from the walls. A platform in one corner of the dwelling is usually reserved for the household food supply; there is only one larder, and all occupants draw freely from it.

Only females and pre-pubescent boys live in the dwelling house. Each nuclear family occupies a few adjoining hammocks; but for this, one would have to question to detect household biological affiliations, for the resident extended family leads a most communal existence.

Matrilocality, it has been said, has resulted in highly diverse clan affiliations among the occupants of the men's house. Despite the generational continuity of the females and the relative stability of their residence, the same is true of them also. Daughters tend to remain in the dwellings of their mothers among the contemporary Mundurucú, and the extended family-household unit consists of a group of women related in the female line. Under the system of patrilineal descent, however, the daughters belong to the moieties and clans of their fathers and, therefore, to the moiety opposite that of their mother. The women of a household are related by firm ties of consanguinity, but according to the normal system of recognizing and classifying kinsmen, their relationship has no formal lineal status. This conflict does not prevent the women from placing their closest bonds of interdependence on their co-resident mothers, sisters, and daughters, as they are classified in the kinship system, but the perpetuation of patrilineality has thus far inhibited the development of a formal, named matrilineage in which descent for certain legal purposes is reckoned. A further attrition of patrilineal inheritance could well leave the way open for such a de-

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planting time a few weeks later; most, however, stay in the village. The average collecting season of the savannah Mundurucú thus lasts about two and a half to three months out of a possible period of six months.

The dwellings in which the collecting season is passed frequently consist only of a roof set on four or six upright posts, but others are larger and have walls of mud or palm leaves. Cooking is generally done in a shed connected to the rear of the house, in imitation of the typical north Brazilian kitchen. The rubber-avenue dwellings often house but one nuclear family, but if a larger group resides in the same house, all members of the nuclear family hang their hammocks adjacent to one another.

There is no firm rule dictating the composition of the membership of rubber-avenue dwellings. Residents of the same household tend to cling together during the dry season, but the limited number of rubber avenues accessible from one dwelling break up the larger extended families. In such cases, closer kinsmen within a household remain together. The availability of rubber avenues, in general, makes any strict rule of dry-season residence impracticable. They are limited in number, and a young man embarking on independent rubber collection must reside where an avenue is vacant.

The average Brazilian collector spends five or six days a week in his rubber avenue, but the campineiro rarely works more than four. And while a single Brazilian may have up to three separate avenues, working each on different days, no campineiro has more than one. Indisposition to intensive labor in rubber production thus combines with the maintenance of savannah/village residence to keep Mundurucú productivity low. The Indian collector leaves the house for his avenue early in the morning and generally returns by mid-afternoon. Besides his knife for

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of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the mission if one worked hard.

The villages grew by increments and with no special order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mundurucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river.

The circumstances of the migration induced other changes in village organization. Since the first permanent settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the old coöperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

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men's house, and the newly formed Cauí, is 60. On the other hand, the average Cururú River community, excluding the mission and Indian-post settlements, numbers less than 40 people. The Cururú settlements have few of the cohesive aspects of the savannah villages, but are afflicted with the cultural inheritance of many of their divisive tendencies. This can be illustrated by briefly presenting the community organization in one Cururú village.

Its eleven houses and 90 people make Missão Velha the largest village on the Cururú River. The village suffers from the same disadvantages that made it necessary to move the mission from the area. It is set back about a half mile north of the river bank because the river here is bordered by a stretch of savannah that is inundated annually. There is a clear stream about ten minutes walk to the east, but the annual flooding makes it inaccessible in the rainy season and water must be taken from the intervening flooded forest. To the north, behind the village, is a region of low savannah interspersed with stretches of forest. There is a limited amount of land suitable for horticulture, and, after seventeen years of occupation of the village, nearby land is already scarce. An additional disadvantage of Missão Velha is the presence of the usual quota of insects that infest the Cururú, which make the relatively insect-free savannah villages more agreeable.

Missão Velha, like most of the other riverine villages, grew up without planning of internal arrangement or location except for proximity to rubber avenues. All but one of its eleven houses have wattle-and-daub walls in the Brazilian fashion. The exception has walls made of vertical wooden laths, also a Brazilian mode of building. One house has the high, steep roof and rounded ends of the aboriginal dwelling, although its walls are of mud. The cook sheds adjoining the rear entrance or the side of each house are a distinctively Brazilian trait.

/25 cont./

241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regarding [594] the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and [423] enjoyment of its garden.

178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the system of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

241 177 182 462 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

241 602 421 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

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15. The complete lack of fertilization methods among the Indians of the Amazon forest is well known. It is only when fallow plots are burned that the depleted soil derives some fertilizing elements from the ashes.

has to seek new sites farther out and set up his gardens ever farther away, so that, after a certain period of time, the Indian group actually lives far from its source of subsistence, until the Indians themselves find transportation of the crops to their homes difficult. Then comes the time to move the village to another /28/ more favorable location. On such occasions, the original (and no doubt the most fitting) form of this reciprocal relation of garden and village becomes apparent.

[633] When a move takes place and a new village is built, the latter lies in the center of the new garden plot of the tuxaua, or chief of the group. The traditional shape of the garden plot is rounded, as already mentioned. In the center of it, the plaza of the new village is cleared, also in rounded shape. Within it, the houses are laid out [342] in a square: the men's house or shed (hoksa), open in front to the [346] east, with the house of the ancestral spirits (kaduke) alongside it; the oval houses for women and children (hok-a) to the right and left; and the square is closed with another hok-a on the east side, if need be.

/Figure 3 appears here./

[621] The nucleus thus formed becomes a new center of the tribal group, of the clan or sib. The garden plot and the village thus form a unit, with the village standing within the first plot. In the years that /29/ follow, the garden plots expand outward. And if the soil is not suitable, the garden is moved farther out, ever farther, until, after a number of years, the need is felt to transfer the village and start all over again. Thus originate the cycles of intraterritorial group migrations.